

The ideological specifics of the variants of contemporary conservatism

Gjorshoski, Nikola

Veröffentlichungsversion / Published Version
Zeitschriftenartikel / journal article

Empfohlene Zitierung / Suggested Citation:

Gjorshoski, N. (2016). The ideological specifics of the variants of contemporary conservatism. *Journal of Liberty and International Affairs*, 2(1), 75-89. <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-47087-3>

Nutzungsbedingungen:

Dieser Text wird unter einer CC BY Lizenz (Namensnennung) zur Verfügung gestellt. Nähere Auskünfte zu den CC-Lizenzen finden Sie hier:
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/deed.de>

Terms of use:

This document is made available under a CC BY Licence (Attribution). For more Information see:
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0>



© 2016 Nikola Gjorshoski

This is an open access article distributed under the CC-BY 3.0 License.

Date of acceptance: March 18, 2016

Date of publication: June 15, 2016

Review article

UDC 329.11-029.3

THE IDEOLOGICAL SPECIFICS OF THE VARIANTS OF CONTEMPORARY CONSERVATISM

Nikola Gjorshoski, PhD Student

Law Faculty, University “St. Clement of Ohrid” – Bitola, Republic of Macedonia

[ngjorshoski\[at\]gmail.com](mailto:ngjorshoski[at]gmail.com)

Abstract

In the imminent paper the author elaborates the primary theoretical modalities of conservative ideology. Such variants arises from the conservative ideology where diversity, specificities and needs are treated as a fundamental principle of their activity. The necessity to present the basic modalities of conservative philosophy lie in the fact that modern right-centrist parties are faced with the dilemma of ideological repositioning and expedient concretization of the priorities in their own political action. In this respect the author concentrates on four essential concepts that shape the conservative action in modern discourse. Paternalistic Conservatism, Neoliberal Conservatism, Neoconservatism and Christian Democracy create a framework of conservative worldview through the theoretical prism and also withdraw substantial axiological and praxeological differentiations on relevant issues such as freedom of the market, media, agriculture, financial sector, solidarity, religion, penal policy, taxes etc.

Key words: Conservatism; Paternalistic conservatism; Neoliberal conservatism; Neo conservatism; Christian Democracy

INTRODUCTION

Conservatism as a political ideology does not appear in any uniform or clean form. Just as in other ideologies and political theories, also within conservatism there are different factions, variants or convictions on different aspects and issues of social life depending on the specifics of a certain region. In this regard notes the slogan: *socialism and liberalism are international as well as conservatism is national*. Consequently the primary opus of this paper expresses theoretical explanation of the following questions: what are the basic elements of each of the respective conservative variants, how are they recognized by, which key segments of social and political life they manifest and finally which of the character elements are symbiotic and related by nature and what is distinctively different in their scope? Hence the purpose of the upcoming paper will show exactly those varieties, stating that it is impossible to stress a strict limit where one begins and other ends. However, despite such positions we will perform four basic differentiations of conservative ideology, based on substantial differences within the priorities of the action of political parties belonging to the provenance.

PATERNALISTIC CONSERVATISM

The term paternalism means consistent activity on fatherly way. As a political principle, it applies power or authority which is conducted over others in order to protect or to reduce the damage. The concept of social protection e.g. mandatory rules traffic such as compulsory wearing seat belts is a classic examples of paternalist philosophy. The basis of paternalism is that the wisdom and experience are not equally distributed in society hence those who have authority take the moral responsibility to protect those who are worse off. Paternalistic conservatism as an option or an alternative of conservative provenance appeared as early as in the writing of Edmund Burke, but it received its purest form during the Tory Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli. Protecting the weaker and poorer, conservative parties primarily originating from the Anglo-Saxon world believed they would maintain order, state security, existing institutions and social cohesion. This trend continues today in many conservative parties where the social component is emphasized within their action. Especially in such situations are obvious changes and the ability to act in order to protect certain categories of marginalized citizens. This approach does not certainly means helping only the employees, but the companies themselves as well. In addition we will notice the main characteristics of the paternalistic conservatism, where we must stress that the underlying motive for such action is more pragmatic than idealistic. But pragmatism in political action is one of the primary determinants of activities of the conservative parties.

Social protection mechanisms for workers

Social protection mechanisms that applied to the recently appeared working class became the primary interest of conservative governments in Europe to prevent the influence of Marxist socialism. This ideology called upon the working population to commit violent revolution in order to assume power in their hands: the ultimate goal to repeal of the state and the existing order and to establish classless and stateless community of abundance in the future. However appropriate response came from the conservative side not through violent methods, but through affirmative actions to improve the position of workers. For example, the time of Bismarck adopted a series of laws that improved their social status, among which the most important are the following: 1) The law on mandatory health insurance from 1883; 2) The insurance law on accidents at work, fell borne by the employer in 1884; 3) Law on Pension and Disability Insurance. Later conservative governments in Germany introduced the Law on Insurance in case of death of 1911 and the Law on insurance against unemployment in 1929 (Ruzin 2006, 40).

The main feature of this model is that it introduces compulsory insurance approach, instead of the previous founded on a voluntary basis. Later this approach became the basis for modern social insurance. Social security legislation in all countries includes the principle that it is mandatory for all registered employees. This concept protects workers in order to ensure a broad-affordable integration into society of all persons of all categories. Actually this represents the incorporation of part of the opposition ideologies in his political practice with the objective to create a widely-acceptable consensus of solidarity and commitment to the poor and vulnerable social categories. Also this model offers a division of responsibility between the state on the one hand and enterprises on the other. The opportunity to experience the cooperation and collaboration rather than antagonism and division between different groups, creates a practice that has become characteristic of

all periods of paternalistic rule. As much the conservative parties's paternalistic orientation tried to protect the interests of the wealthier sections of society - among which newly bourgeoisie - the interests of the lower strata of the population were entirely left out. Such facts show that the conservative ideology could not entirely be treated as an umbrella to protect the rich because what conservative governments do know is that a comprehensive policy approach to all social groups, carry such political gains and social stability.

The concept of unified nation

Previously exhibited social protection mechanisms go towards bolstering what Disraeli and later other conservatives accept - the unified nation. It really is an expression of concern about the ruling elites of discord in society. If conservatism is initially an expression of uncompromising rejection of changes paternalistic conservatism characteristic for the next stages of its development and today is expressed by the slogan: "change to preserve existing." So Edmund Burke draws a lesson from the French Revolution, claiming that "the state without the means of some change is without the means for such a hearing." It occupies a similar position and Ian Gilmour when he says: "wise conservative travelling with little baggage." According to him the most respected values of conservatism - the tradition, authority, order, property and family will be provided only if certain policies are developed in light of the practical circumstances and experiences. It is important to be reported and his suggestions regarding the wealth and privileges. According to him, they bear responsibility and obligations to poorer and less powerful (Parry, 2000, 79). In support of this assertion it could be mentioned that since the early 20th century onwards, the Conservative Party began to gather more audiences among the working class and the poorer layers of society. According to the claims of Rudolf Churchill established institutions like the monarch, parliament and the Anglican Church can be obtained and preserved only if the working class voted for the Conservative Party (Hejvud 2005, 90).

All of this aspects contributes to creating what Disraeli in his novels called single nation, which in history is known as Tory democracy. He tried to draw the attention of the political public to the danger of division of the UK into two nations - rich and poor. So, on the one hand the growing social inequality created revolutionary drive, and on the other hand Disraeli referred to the moral values like humanity and compassion. What is dominant during and after Disraeli's era is that the conservatives in a manner of promoting the concept of unified nation began to foster feelings of loyalty and patriotism and of thus way amortising socialist ideas that the workers did not have their own state. What is particularly emphasized in conservative points of view is that the state is present in all categories, the nation is strong and united and all are part of the nation that has the right to live in welfare. A nation conceived primarily as an organic entity that holds the associated ethnic and cultural identity and shared history, where the complex of socio-economic assistance to the weaker reinforces its physiognomy. People feel more loyalty and a sense of belonging to the nation-state when they possess material welfare when they could economically provide or have guaranteed jobs, good wages, high-quality education and healthcare services, etc. National identity and patriotism towards their country and nation, harden these possibilities of the social dimension.

Loyalty, partnership and corporatism

Unlike neoliberal tendencies, which will exhibit below, and which have become particularly apparent in contemporary theoretical debates, paternalistic conservatism imposes an entirely new conception of modern society. In fact there is an intention to create a balanced approach between individualism and collectivism as philosophical preoccupations of today. Hence the emphasis on the meaning of the policy of innovation and entrepreneurship on the one hand and loyalty to the company, the partnership between social groups and the corporative way of decision-making and ownership relations in enterprises on the other side.

Top of the conservative tradition is evident especially in the period after World War II, when conservative governments in the UK and other Western European countries are began practicing a kind of Keynesian economy. The main objective is the attainment of full employment and supporting social protection mechanisms in the country. The new theory which imposed the politicians of that period to which they refer and many modern paternalists consists of several things. First, workers have to worry about the success of their company, e.a. to be loyal to it in order to advance the growth which would allow for higher salaries and benefits. Second, all participants in the production process must build relationships of trust and partnership on all issues relevant to them. Third, shareholder foundations of companies as an opportunity for greater democratization in the same while providing exposure to different requirements and designs for company policy. This approach is not based on populism, but an expression of attention paternalistic conservatism as against the management team and owners and to employees. The economic logic of the conservative philosophy includes corporatism in a system that emphasizes the welfare state, proclamation (but not to the extreme) reduction of income disparities between citizens, moderate hierarchy, social rights including marginalized groups (Maguire M. and Morgan R. 2007, 364). The establishment of such program determinations by their parties became the main pillar of which rely on conservative ideology in the decades after World War II.

Special care to agriculture

Agriculture as a sector in the economic system of a country showed particular setback and marginalization in the policies of any government, especially those after the industrial revolution and mass urbanization making its by-product. Conservative parties saw here an opportunity for self-promotion by placing emphasis on their protection and assistance. But we will not deal with the historical genesis of conservative bias towards agriculture. What is here concerned is the question about the needs for providing the agriculture. Commitment to agriculture and agrarian policy encircles complex features of the paternalistic conservatism. It can be concluded that the agricultural policy numerous countries differ in their nature and in their economic potentials least normatively establish identical goals. These objectives were contained especially in the Maastricht Treaty of the European Union which was adopted on the initiative of Germany and Italy, where the government parties were of conservative provenance. What will exhibit here are general principles and objectives that underpin the conservative attitude towards agriculture, on which is founded the entire agricultural policy of the Union.

The purposes and principles of agricultural policy which are proclaimed and implemented by conservative governments in paternalistic orientation are: 1) Increasing agricultural productivity and improved technical development; 2) Production subsidies - fixed aid paid per unit; 3) Help in the supply of raw materials; 4) Production quotas or quota per unit area; 5) Intervention purchases – non state organizations may be authorized to purchase in the event of market disruptions; 6) Reduction of excise taxes - taxes that burden the goods produced; 7) Import quotas; 8) Export subsidy (Tripunoski 2009, 98).

The above principles became a dominant landmark in almost every conservative party in the EU, but also in Anglo-Saxon countries. Paternalism today is perhaps most evident right through the agrarian policy that cherish. For example, the Conservative Party of Great Britain has developed a special platform called: “A new era of agriculture, our agenda for British agriculture” which is based on several principles such as fair competition, reduction of freight adjustments, effective action against animal diseases, increased production and environmental protection (Conservative party agenda, 2011).

NEOLIBERAL CONSERVATISM

The ideas of classical liberalism in political and economic terms became an integral component of the specifics of modern conservatism in the early 20th century. A variant that we preview now sublimates such conditions, with a particular emphasis on the economic sphere. In politicology circulation despite the term neoliberal conservatism - also exist references such as conservative liberalism, libertarian conservatism and liberal new right. But liberal ideology over the past two centuries of existing suffered crucial metamorphoses by moving the political space from center to left or right. Right-wing liberals called for more classical liberalism as that of Locke and Smith and left the classical texts are increasingly adored aspects of social protection through the state intervention. On the other hand the term libertarian is used only in the US and the term liberal may refer the out economic views such as LGBT rights, the right to the enjoyment of light drugs and alcohol which can't be identify with conservatism. Therefore we will operate with the term Neoliberal conservatism due strictly economic preferences.

If freedom of the market, entrepreneurship, protection of private property are the dominant features of classical liberalism, the social liberalism of interest became more and more the values of empowerment, fairness and justice, fair treatment, etc. Such valuable principles were part of the welfare state which was already discussed in the previous section. Neoliberalism actually attached to the values of classical conservatism proclaims itself as a critique of this conception of the welfare state. Considering that it is to be blamed for the high rate of inflation, a declining trend in economic growth, and increased lethargy citizens became oriented new right back to classical liberal values in economic policy thinking that they will improve this situation. Now let's see the main features of neoliberal conservatism.

Fully free market and foreign trade liberalization

We concluded that neoliberal ideas of conservatism especially prevail in the economic outlook. The laissez-faire concept of markets is certainly the dominant feature of this conceptual criterion. Neoliberal conservatives believe that classical liberal school of

economics is compatible with their philosophical and political opinions based on values such as authority and order. Thus, according to Burke, the free market is efficient and fair, but also natural and necessary. Natural because it is an expression of the desire for wealth and orientation to profits and, as Burke claims it is an integral part of the human nature. Neoliberal conservatism is also maintained in the new rightist - conservative parties that come primarily from countries in Central and Eastern Europe and emerged after the fall of communism. Keeping alive the ideas of classical liberalism to fully free market and with foreign trade liberalization, neoliberalism has become the biggest enemy of communism and modern social democrats and liberals (Carey, 1998, 16).

Conservatives from the Scandinavian countries are perhaps a classical example of fostering neoliberal values. Completely free market and foreign trade liberalization has become *differentia specifica* of the Scandinavian model of economy during the rule conservative governments. For example, Andrus Fogh Rasmussen former Danish Prime Minister and leader of the party Venstre several times clearly stated that he and his party are pushing for a full liberalization of the market and minimizing the impact of the government in a so conceived free market. In Sweden, Carl Bildt again and his Moderate Party introduced liberalization of the energy sector, in telecommunications, privatization of healthcare services and their competition (Harvey 2005, 55). All these were the sectors not only in Sweden but also in other countries had a monopoly in your positions in the market. Their deregulation and transfer to private ownership was expected to increase the quality level of the services, which in fact was proven to be quite successful. The accession of these countries to the EU paved the road to full trade liberalization with the Member States, joining to WTO and increasing the level of trade exchange with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. On the other hand, the fall of communist regimes led to signing several agreements between the former countries of the so called "People's Democracy", with a special highlight CEFTA and the processes for cooperation in Southeast Europe. In all these agreements contained a provision for trade liberalization between them, and reduce quotas and customs duties between them.

Reduction of public spending

If, during the state of being influenced by Keynesian economy school state had an obligation through rising public spending that stimulates economic growth and to achieve full employment, here it is not the case. Neo-liberals like Hayek criticized just such a situation. They are committed to fiscal discipline, planned budget deficit and limited borrowing in relation to the GDP. Such political and economic procedures are introduced as membership criteria in the European Monetary Union. For example, neoliberal conservatives whose influence was pervasive during the creation of the rules of the economic and monetary union in Europe have created a series of rules in this area. For example, the budget deficit should not exceed 3% of GDP, the total public debt may not exceed 60% of the yearly GDP, insistence of price stability, which is expressed by the rate of inflation which must not be higher than 1.5 percentage point of non ponding average of countries with the lowest inflation rate in the Euro-zone so. All this is achieved by cutting public spending, which produces and reduces credit indebtedness. The reduction of the public spending is expressed in the most significant areas of the pension system, healthcare, education, defence etc. (Ibid). This leads to a reduction of the social assistance measures for vulnerable groups, raising the age limit for retirement, increase in participation of health

services, etc. The argument that the amount neoliberal conservatives was that it was the high level of spending is causing expansion left tax and increase the tax burden. It is almost impossible to ensure long-term financial stability without such measures. The best proof of this is the crisis in Greece.

Tax cuts

If previous trends reflect directly upon the “luxury” of the citizens and the system of populist governments, the following feature is an extremely positive impact on investors. A by-product of the state of welfare and its progressive taxation was the reduced rate of investment growth. The investors worldwide followed the economic logic of faster capital fertilization, so they avoided countries with higher taxes. It again returned to the game neoliberal trends for tax cuts. This was a trend that has become characteristic for both the countries in the western hemisphere and for the developing countries. Such taxes in the United States during the Reagan were drastically reduced by a full 40% over a period of seven years, which contributed to the significant growth of GDP. In the UK however, under the rule of Margaret Thatcher tax burdens also reduced by intensive which finished the complete elimination of the structural deficit and reduction of public debt to 20%. All this increased the credit rating of the states and the unemployment rate decreased by a certain degree. The tax credits it to life not only the real sector, but also move forward the capital market and the level of trade of the countries in Europe and America. Also the percentage of budget realization increased significantly as a result of such policies. Value added tax (VAT) declined in various sectors, therefore causing a rapid development of branches that were neglected. All this contributed to the sharp rise of the economies of Western Europe at the beginning of 90's and out of the crisis which had occurred earlier. Neoliberal tendencies of low taxes are supported by the so-called “doctrine of trickle-down.” If they are in favor of the more powerful, it is believed that it will cause growth in poorer, and the growth of an industry will lead to an increases of other industries because of the chain of activities which is dependent on an economic system.

Deregulation of the financial sector

The financial sector primarily in the United States was quite fraught with procedural rules regarding its operation and strict control of the stock market. If the positive effect of this situation was reduction of the possibility of fraud and abuse, what were missing were increased turnover and transactions, as well as fresh money into the system. The deregulation of the financial sector actually means simplifying the rules for financial operations. This is closely related to although not identical with the substance liberalization. Neoliberal conservatives in the United States brought a series of legal changes in the area of banking, making the commercial banks enabled an entry to financial capital markets, brokerage activities etc. The law and deregulation of financial control that was passed in the US in 1980, and later in the rest of Western Europe, allowed a wide scope of action. This injects fresh money into the system, favorable commercial and investment loans which affected the overall improvement of the macroeconomic situation in these countries. But what was imposed on banks is the certain degree of control and supervision by the central banks because of the increased likelihood of potential risks.

The deregulation of the financial sector with numerous advantages, referring to countries prepared to participate in the global financial system. So on one side of businesses and citizens in the domestic and international system allowing a wider choice of savings institutions increased number of credit options and benefit from the conclusion of the same, with an increased assurance of financial transactions with various derivative instruments (Čaušević 2004, 73). On the other hand, the deregulation of the financial sector provides benefits for the financial institutions themselves such as increased competition that lead to higher levels of knowledge and experience, serious increase of financial investment, reduce costs and enhance technology. Such attitudes reflect modern neoliberal conservatives, who managed to incorporate these principles as the foundation of the financial sector in their countries

NEOCONSERVATISM

The term Neoconservatism is proclaimed by US theorists to indicate a specific condition in the American society from the second half of the last century. It is a period in which the scene again the liberal spirit in the economy, extensive deregulation and market liberalization. Namely, it comes to learning which consists of a combination of pragmatic style of economic policy and the traditional approach to culture and social issues. In the economic sphere mainly neoconservatives agree with the state intervention and advocate mainly a mixture of the welfare state and *lassiez - fair*, often invoking the Reagan era when this practice was most visible. But neoconservatives concerns about liberal values in the social and cultural sphere are the certain ideological characteristics typical of foreign policy. As Irving Kristol points out, neoconservatism it gives the traditional conservatism intellectual extra dimension beyond the economic sphere, above all in terms of social and cultural stability (Kristol 2004, 50).

Neoconservatism today is typical for Western European countries primarily in response to the fear of social fragmentation that is seen as a byproduct of the traditional liberal society (Vaise 2010, 7). Such instability of the liberal society strengthened the massive influx of immigrants, the mass social protests, and acceptance of the "rights" of special categories of citizens (such as LGBT population) which does not coincide with traditional social views and values. On top of all, the concept of multi-ethnic and multi-religious society in no way can be taken as a benefit for neoconservatism. Therefore neoconservatism, state authority and coherently society puts in the first place. According to them society could achieve a desired level of stability and development only if efficiency in three areas, namely: 1. Law and order - inherent moral contortions is a reality and can be overcome only through fear of punishment, and they would be effective if strict; 2. Public morality - often shaped by the educational process and the media because freedom within the choice of behavior can lead to the choice of evil and immoral views; 3. National identity - the value of the nation (in a civil and ethnic sense) consists of connecting the society and the groups within , thus giving them a common cultural and civic identity that would be as strong as it would be grounded in history and tradition. In addition, we will briefly present the essential characteristics of neoconservatism although some of them have already broached, but bearing in mind that the above principles are an essential feature of the whole conservative ideology here will be on some of the most important specifics that differ from other prototypes.

Religion as a promoter of morality

According to the theoretical discourse, religion is an implicit valuable category for the entire conservative philosophy. However, that does not mean that all conservative politicians are religious themselves. It is perceived in terms of morality and stability of the system. In this concept neoconservatives treat religion as more important among the society and the citizens. According to them the large liberalization of the society and some antisocial phenomena are the result of the abandonment of religious values and religious feelings of the citizens. Many neoconservative parties and governments are publicly calling for enhanced role of the church in society. Besides, religious feelings can return by introducing religious education in schools and religious officials' compulsory participation in the institutions. All this because religion is the only true and promoter of morality. The moral qualities of life are increasingly abandoned primarily by liberal proclamations, especially evident among young people and business elites that impose race for profit and wealth for the primary purpose of life. Religion according to the neoconservatives is the sole promoter of morality for two reasons: First, because the liberal tendencies to choose freedom morale can lead to a focus on the bad or evil views (abortion, homosexuality, pornography, and so on.) Second, as occurred liberal views towards morality can lead to moral pluralism which the neoconservatives harmful. Namely, the debate around these issues is harmful because it undermines social stability and cohesion. Permissive society is what lacks ethical standards and moral unifying factors. Therefore the presence of religion as promoter and guardian of the same (Malinov 1999, 128).

Rigid penal policy

Accepting the ideas inherent moral contortions, neoconservatives believe that the roots of the disorder rather than social injustice penetrate the human soul. This increased momentum gives liberalist behaviour by which wealth and profits are most important to man. As witnesses of numerous manipulations, fraud and perversion entire framework of social values is disturbed. Fragmentation of the social good becomes even more visible because of this turn of events. Neoconservative argument on this matter is perhaps the strongest in the direction of bringing them to the point of intransigence towards certain criminal and economic offenses. Rape, murder, prostitution, financial mismanagement became daily practice within the Western societies where a rigid penal policy is required. The spokesmen of these ideas rightly recognized that effective sanctions will return to its original position in some spheres of social life. Crime and delinquency can stand in the way solely through fear of harsh sanctions or fines, and punishment can be effective only if strict. This in the US, especially in the UK has led to an emphasis on prison sentences and longer sentences for minor crimes. The incorporation of criminal responsibility for economic abuses in companies, and criminal liability of legal persons was also a tendency proclaimed by neoconservative thinkers and agitators. It is especially emphasizing and vigorous fight against organized crime, as well as its definition and appropriate measures to be applied in all countries. This led to the signing of the Palermo Convention on transnational organized crime. Ratification in national parliaments on the same gladly greeted by MPs of the conservative parties, noting that such an approach will enable highly efficient response to this phenomenon united across in most countries.

Also the establishment of the Permanent International Criminal Court in The Hague in 2004 was met with positive reviews among neoconservative camps. US neoconservatives still fight for restoring the death penalty. The perpetrators of certain offenses as a juvenile rape, brutal murders of women and children, infanticide, etc., do not deserve to live. Thus, by the end of the eighties and the early nineties of the last century, the death penalty was restored in most of the states. In the UK again introduced a detention center for youth mode so called short “sharp shock”. In the 90’s during Prime Minister John Major has given support minimum sentences for juvenile offenders and specialized educational - detention centers for such persons in the style of the American “Spanish boot camps”.

Censorship of certain content in the mass media

Neoconservatives tend to pay more attention to the cultural and moral aspect of life than economic matters. In that manner attention is directed toward the culture, art, music, literature, and more recently, television and the internet, believing that society defines and express itself and maintain its values by these means as well . Unfortunately, they said, these resources are increasingly becoming morally polluted. An example of such conclusion could be violent and sexually explicit movies, television programs and video games, and music filled with profanity, hate speech and intolerance. These circumstances have led mass media to lose credibility among the citizens and had cause shock, disgust and nausea (Encyclopaedia Britannica). Neoconservative philosophy puts extremely dominant emphasis on certain content published in the media or in the mass media. The growing number of content that shows violence, a crime, murder, pornography, promotion of the LGBT community, divorce, etc., has forced many conservatives to open the issue of censorship of certain content. Censorship consist of limiting the time duration of such content or setting new broadcasting time wich is usually late at night. The aim of this approach is to prevent the negative impact on the young population. This type of censorship has become a practice in almost all Western countries. The criteria were tightened in the choice of program content and broadcast adequately appropriate term intervals. Censorship in this sense does not intend to impede freedom of expression and thought, but is extremely protective profile contributions in terms of strengthening the social acceptable behavior.

Support the political-military interventionism in foreign policy

Military - political interventions became practice for the US foreign policy over the past half century, and especially after the attacks of September 11, 2001 they highly become a credo of neoconservative tendencies. Taking into account the situation of readiness to launch missions in the Middle East and Southeast Asia, ever the modern perception of conservatism accepts it not only as harmless, but also useful (Vaise 2010, 79). This is a feature that is characteristic not only for the American type of neoconservatism but it is quite common for many European countries, especially the Scandinavian section. Promoting human rights and democratic values should be one of the priorities of the foreign policy of Western countries as foundations of modern international community. There are several justifications for political-military interventions of the United States and their allies that are preferred by neoconservatives. First, human rights and freedoms fundamental concept in the post-war international community must be respected everywhere.

The authoritarian regimes are obviously not adhere to such standards. Second, the legitimacy of such actions, and their legality and always provided through UN resolutions no. Third, the interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan, and now in Libya and Syria serve the Western interests in terms of force governments to conclude agreements of strategic importance for the West, such as the sale of oil, weapons, gas, etc. It is known that the neoconservatives' national interest is in the foreground, and such conditions confirmed exactly that. Fourth, the ability to recruit unemployed youth for the purpose of the missions and ensure their further engagement in post-war areas expresses the social dimension of American interests. And finally, these views assume significance through the struggle against global terrorism as a threat to all humanity.

CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY

On the map of the ideological discourse, Christian democracy many distinguished as a separate kind of ideological orientation. But it should be noted that such supplies come primarily from the Anglo-Saxon circles. In real politics conservatism and Christian democracy often intertwine (for example, there are parties who identify themselves as conservative and Christian Democrat simultaneously), but they indicate major differences that go so far as conservatives refuse to be classified as Christian democrats (considering that this term is "clerical"), while the Christian democratic parties, particularly the trade unionists in their ranks, refuse to be defined as conservatives noting that trade unionists can be Christian democrats, but not conservative. Unlike them continental parties often declare themselves as conservatives and Christian democrats at the same time. The Christian democracy appeared in mainland Europe (primarily Western Europe) where modernization was late, and the Catholic Church still has had a significant number of believers (as in Germany and the Netherlands Catholics were no less than 30% of the population) and protecting the interests of minority Catholic communities. Christian democrats not only protect the interests of the higher social strata, but those of the entire Catholic (minority) community, in the name of unity of Catholicism unite the interests of all social segments. Therefore the Christian democratic parties received support from associations of Catholic employers, trade unions, associations of farmers, etc. (Kalyvas 1996, 18). In this light we would mention that the Christian tradition struggled for a long time in order to accept the democratic political principles. Perhaps the key turning point is the publication of *Rerum Novarum*, when Pope Leo XIII called the Christians to embrace the values of the democratic political systems, proclaimed by the French Revolution. This flow of things marked the path of the modern nomenclature of this persuasion as democratic. Even the status of secularism was established as an incentive to further fight with the ideologies of the left and center-left (Djurkovic 2010, 50). The Christian democracy promote a democratic stand, as well as an ideas for ensuring public order, rights and freedoms and responsibilities of the individual and public morality are especially its fundamental principles. Considering the fact that the Christian values, especially in the European round of parties, are essential for many of them, the Christian democracy could rightly be placed in the credo of varieties of conservatism. As an additional argument regarding this assessment it may be noted that the Christian democratic ideology was one of the winners in the fight against totalitarian communist system in Eastern Europe.

Christian teachings as a guiding principle in political practice

A key aspect in the Christian democracy valuation of politics is the combination of the elements of the Christian tradition with other elements of morality, patriarchy, devotion to the family, the local community, workplace and church on one side and the elements of the welfare state and solidarity on the other. This constellation of formulating political action which stems from the Christian religion becomes a dominant feature of the political practice of the Christian democrats. Charity, family, moral aspects of managing the common good, solidarity, prosperity became a constituent element in the political rhetoric of conservative parties the Christian democratic option. This world view developed for all walks of ethics for management structures, women's rights and the responsibility of politicians for the welfare of the population. The essential feature Christian democracy learning still an emphasis on economic social and free market. For that assumption testify the historical facts putting them receive state intervention and assistance to vulnerable entities in the market. This does not necessarily mean nationalization or intervention by any means, but some kind of help that comes as a results of the Christian conception of society. Christian democrats never saw the economy as a distinct category, at least the statutory level, from politics. Following the Thomas Aquinas's tradition they believe the economy is part of the overall social life that must remain in service for value-moral aims of an order. Another distinguishing feature of the Christian doctrine as a guiding principle of the political action is tolerance and cooperation with other members of religious groups and ethnic communities. The International Union of Christian Democrats emphasize the primacy of dialogue and tolerance as basic principles in political practice. So in the section on Interreligious Dialogue they note:

To those who believe that violence and terrorism are the only way believers respond - rid of obsessive pessimism that leads to a world of walls and hostility, living in security and peace. Peaceful coexistence must be encouraged. Religious representatives strongly reaffirmed that tolerance and respect are strictly grounded in their religious tradition. As a result of this they decided to distance themselves from hatred and conflict (Christian Democracy International 2008).

Christian doctrine as a guiding principle of political action also emphasizes asocial phenomena in society, and as a solution to overcome them can be found to strengthen the church by youngsters. Christian youth movements in Europe and the world believe that moral delinquency, drug addiction, alcoholism, prostitution, etc. They can be partly prevented by emphasizing Christian values in everyday life and their promotion through the mass media.

The principle of subsidiarity

The idea of subsidiarity is now known in the theory and practice of the EU and derived from Catholic social teaching and was first proclaimed in the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. Generally, this argues that any public work should be conducted on a possible lower than the ground level of competitiveness. So most of the things need to be addressed in the family, the local religious community, the local political community such as the municipality, the region, and if it is impossible even on a central government level.

This principle is recognized by the 10th Amendment of the US Constitution, and is integrated as a basis of the European Charter of Local Self-Government. Also this principle finds its place in the EU Treaty of Maastricht in 1992. The principle of subsidiarity is proclaimed as an option for a possible greater participation of the citizens in political decision-making the regards matters of local importance. For example, the Christian Democratic logic of affirmation of this principle finds it necessary to emphasize that local institutions much better acquainted with the problems of the citizens, much more competent to assess their options, and finally draw up a list of priorities for action.

Social institutions such as family, church, volunteer associations, sports clubs, Christian unions, etc. represent the foundation of every well-governed and prosperous community. Investing in their further development and intensifying their powers and competencies comprise a significant part in the program priorities of all Christian democrat parties. Christian democrats believe that the primary interest of the citizens can be achieved by strengthening the capacity of these institutions. This concept is confirmed by the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU) in the section on local politics which occupies an important place in their program- ideological features. So in an excerpt on the occasion of these issues entitled as “Germany needs the strong communities”, it is noticed: “The federal government needs to listen to the requirements of local authorities and the association of cities as a true representative of citizens' interests. Our principle of subsidiarity, which tend to be applied in other EU countries on a very solid foundation is laid in our fundamental priorities. We have a particularly keen understanding of the needs of local government and intermediary institutions, these issues tend to rise and higher European level of discussion and priority” (Deutscher Städtetag 2009).

Special emphasis on solidarity

The institutions that were stated in the previous stakes are important to the citizens not only on the basis of identity placement, but also as another important level - solidarity. As part of the everyday life of the citizens they offer them a good foundation in terms of security and solidarity in varying degrees all expect. Christian democrats believe that the assistance that is necessary for people who faced ordeals they can provide these institutions. For example consolation for different contingencies can give the church, material assistance they can provide urban and local authorities as well as various voluntary associations. There are different companies that help individuals and families can rely anytime. The initiators of the charity also become part of the Christian democratic tradition. If the state is sometimes deaf to the problems of the citizens or disabled to meet their demands, here are certainly numerous intermediary institutions that would express their humanity and solidarity. For a society, such institutions are more than needed. That is their stimulation is one of the dominant efforts of Christian democratic parties. Many of them organized numerous programs to assist and support the socially vulnerable cases, the unemployed, young people, orphans etc.

The Christian democrats are bitter opponents of the atomization of people because they regard it as a violation of the fundamental principles of the Christian doctrine and so human can be left to totalitarian impulses and gesticulations. Neither he should be left alone, nor should people be taught to be self-sufficient. The perception of social solidarity as a cornerstone of the community comes from Aristotle and Thomas Aquinas.

According to Maritain, in today's complex communities a rather dull individualism can develop an integral humanism that man can give foundation, framework, pole-plate, and aims to develop their individual talents and abilities (Djurkovic 2010, 60). But not only the intermediary institutions have an obligation toward those goals. There certainly must be included and the state as a promoter and generator of social stability and solidarity as its fundamental principle. Christian democratic parties especially emphasize the importance of ensuring social welfare for the citizens through state institutions. For example in the program for 2011-2015 of the Croatian Democratic Unity (HDZ) a whole chapter is devoted to social protection entitled "State of Social Justice and Christian values." This chapter says:

Proceeding from the principle of solidarity, the composition of social protection must provide security to citizens, to stimulate the fight against poverty and social exclusion. Our goal is to improve the social protection system which effectively would provide assistance to the socially disadvantaged. Promoting the system of equal opportunities and boosting sensible and vulnerable social groups of great will contribute to their active and productive activities in society (Program HDZ).

CONCLUSION

Conservatism does not definitely represent a uniform and static fixed ideology. In its theoretical parameter owns four basic varieties whose epistemological features recognize in this paper. Based on the above-mentioned reasoning we may perform several basic conclusions, thereby returning to the primary questions that have specified above.

First, paternalistic conservatism, neoliberal conservatism, neoconservatism, and christian democracy contain various valuable elements by nature and terms of perception through the prism of priority. Such value determinants that cover issues such as social safeguards for employees, emphasis on agriculture, loyalty and corporatism inherent paternalistic discourse, freedom of the market, foreign trade liberalization, tax cuts, analogous neoliberal conservative discourse, censorship of certain content in the mass media, supporting military and political interventionism in foreign policy, and rigid penal policy, are characteristic of neoconservatism, as well as of the Christian philosophy as the primary guide, the emphasis on solidarity and the principle of subsidiarity as value orientations of Christian democracy.

Second, the value frame of each model finds its root through philosophical and theoretical discourse of the epochal works of conservative ideology on the one hand, and its own articulation and manifestation through programs and platforms for political actions of the parties of the right-centrist worldview.

Third, part of the ideological elements are symbiotic and relative by nature, such as the safeguards for the employees, and the solidarity and the Christian doctrine, and contained in various varieties of upcoming models. However, some of these are essential and philosophically different such as the free market and corporatism, the rigid penal policy and solidarity, the military and political intervention and the principle of subsidiarity, hence expressed considerable political differentiation and discrepancies in its own mold and philosophy of action.

REFERENCES

1. *A New Age of Agriculture - Our Agenda for British Farming* 2011 Conservative party, London
http://www.conservatives.com/News/News_stories/2010/02/A_New_Age_of_Agriculture.aspx
2. Carey, George W. 1998. *Freedom & Virtue: The Conservative Libertarian Debate*. Washington: Intercollegiate Studies Institute
3. Christian Democracy International: *Interfaith dialogue* 2008. <http://www.idc-cdi.com/>
4. Čaušević, Filip. 2004. *Finansiska globalizacija i ekonomski suverenitet*. Sarajevo: Fakultet Ekonomskih Nauka
5. Deutscher Städtetag: *Deutschland braucht starke Kommunen* 2009 Berlin
<http://www.cdu.de/doc/pdfc/090513-rede-merkel-staedtetag.pdf>
6. Encyclopaedia Britannica: *Neoconservatism*
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/1075556/neoconservatism>
7. Djurkovic, Misa. 2010. "Hriscanska demokratija – ideja, razvoj do 1950 i osnovne principe". *Hriscanstvo i demokratija izmedju antagonizma i mogucnosti*. Beograd: Fondacija Konrad Adenauer
8. Harvey, David. 2005. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
9. Hejvud, Endru. 2005. *Političke ideologije*. Translated by Anka Jakšić. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva
10. Kalyvas, Stathis. 1996. *The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe* New York: Cornell University Press
11. Kristol, Irvin. 2004. *Neokonzervativizam: autobiografija jedne ideje*. Translated by Božica Jakovlev. Zagreb: Algoritam
12. Maguire Mike, Morgan Rod. 2007. *The Oxford handbook of criminology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
13. Malinov, Svetoslav. 1999. *Konzervativizmot*. Sofia: Centar za socialni praktiki
14. Parry, Jon.P. 2000. *Disraeli and England*. London: The Historical Journal
15. Program HDZ: *Za Hrvatsku do 2015*. Zagreb str. 38
http://www.hdz.hr/static/media/attached_files/attachedfileitem/Program/program_HDZ_1.pdf
16. Ruzin, Nano. 2006. *Sovremeni sistemi na socijalna zastita*. Skopje: Filozofski fakultet
17. Tripunoski, Mirko. 2009. *Ekonomija na Evropskata Unija*. Skopje: FON Univerzitet
18. Vaise, James. 2010. *Neoconsetvatism: The biography of a movement*. Harvard: Harvard University Press